



From Margin to Authority: Islamic Legal Discourse on Women's Political Rights in a Global Human Rights Framework

Mufrod Teguh Mulyo^{1*}, Mifedwil Jandra², Munifah³

¹³Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama Surakarta

Jl. Dr. Wahidin, N.05/VI, Surakarta, Indonesia

²Universitas Muhammadiyah Kalimantan Timur

Jl. Ir. H. Juanda No.15, Sidodadi, Kec. Samarinda Ulu, Kota Samarinda, Kalimantan Timur

Email: mufrod.teguh@unu.ac.id¹, mj965@umkt.ac.id², munifah@unu.ac.id³

Submitted : 26-02-2025

Accepted : 14-05-2025

Revision : 17-04-2025

Published : 30-06-2025

Abstract: This article examines the protection of women's political rights in Islam concerning international human rights conventions. While numerous studies have addressed the historical evolution of women's political participation, limited attention has been given to the normative foundations of Islamic teachings supporting such rights. This study seeks to fill that gap by focusing on how Islamic values uphold and safeguard women's political rights. Employing a legal-normative approach, the research examines classical and contemporary legal literature and religious interpretations, particularly referring to the Qur'an Surah Al-Mumtahanah (60:12) as key textual evidence. The findings reveal that Islamic teachings not only permit but actively encourage women's involvement in political life, challenging conservative interpretations that limit their participation under religious pretexts. This research contributes to scholarly discourse by fostering reconciliation between Islamic principles and global human rights standards, promoting a more inclusive and empowering view of women in Muslim societies. It also refutes prevalent misconceptions regarding Islam's stance on women's political engagement. Future studies are encouraged to conduct comparative analyses of how women's political rights are implemented across diverse Islamic and non-Islamic socio-political contexts.

Keywords: *Protection of Women's, Political Rights, Human Rights, Islamic Values*

Abstrak: Artikel ini mengkaji perlindungan hak politik perempuan dalam Islam terkait dengan konvensi hak asasi manusia internasional. Meskipun banyak penelitian telah membahas evolusi historis partisipasi politik perempuan, perhatian terbatas diberikan pada landasan normatif ajaran Islam yang mendukung hak-hak tersebut. Penelitian ini berupaya mengisi kesenjangan tersebut dengan berfokus pada bagaimana nilai-nilai Islam menegakkan dan melindungi hak politik perempuan. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan hukum-normatif, penelitian ini mengkaji literatur hukum klasik dan kontemporer serta interpretasi agama, khususnya merujuk pada Al-Qur'an Surah Al-Mumtahanah (60:12) sebagai bukti tekstual utama. Temuan penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa ajaran Islam tidak hanya mengizinkan tetapi secara aktif mendorong keterlibatan perempuan dalam kehidupan politik, menantang interpretasi konservatif yang membatasi partisipasi mereka dengan dalih agama. Penelitian ini berkontribusi pada wacana ilmiah dengan mendorong rekonsiliasi antara

prinsip-prinsip Islam dan standar hak asasi manusia global, mempromosikan pandangan yang lebih inklusif dan memberdayakan perempuan dalam masyarakat Muslim. Penelitian ini juga membantah kesalahpahaman yang berlaku umum mengenai sikap Islam terhadap keterlibatan politik perempuan. Penelitian di masa mendatang dianjurkan untuk melakukan analisis komparatif tentang bagaimana hak politik perempuan diterapkan dalam berbagai konteks sosial politik Islam dan non-Islam.

Kata Kunci: Perlindungan Perempuan, Hak Politik, Hak Asasi Manusia, Nilai-nilai Islam

Introduction

In the early 19th and 20th centuries in America, the feminist movement focused on securing women's suffrage, which refers to the women's right to vote.¹ After women gained the right to participate in political systems in 1920, their role was not significantly challenged until the 1950s.² Women's primary role during this period was primarily limited to housewives, despite many women working outside the home.³ Simultaneously, other liberal movements began changing the system of women's participation. This wave was started in the United States, prompted by a growing awareness of inequality.⁴

This movement's primary focus emphasized the belief that women's role was oppressive. The massive movement of these values thrived significantly after significant social, economic, and cultural changes, including the rise of materialism, liberalism, and individualism.⁵ The fundamental shift in feminist values in the early 20th century created a supportive environment for women to explore their potential further.⁶ At the academic level, the equal rights of women's participation dramatically switched the international view, raising other ideologies such as liberal feminism, radical feminism, and Marxist feminism. For instance, the United Nations General Assembly issued a resolution in December 1948 addressing universal rights and dignity issues, proclaiming the total equality of men and women across all domains.⁷ Apart from amendments to the political system, public sentiment at the macro and micro levels towards women's political rights also played a crucial role and has long

¹ M Joshi and L Olsson, "War Termination and Women's Political Rights," *Social Science Research* 94 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2020.102523>; Nuraida Fitri Habi and Muhammad Atho Mudzhar, "Women, Islamic Law and Custom in Pucuk Induk Undang Nan Limo Manuscript of Jambi," *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 24, no. 2 (2024): 233–50, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v24i1.38557>.

² N Abdulmelik and T Belay, "Advancing Women's Political Rights in Africa: The Promise and Potential of ACDEG," *Africa Spectrum* 54, no. 2 (2019): 147–61, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002039719881321>; Tika Widiastuti et al., "Strategic Solutions for Women's Empowerment through Islamic Social Finance in Light of Maqāṣid Sharia: A Delphi-ANP Approach," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20, no. 1 (May 2025), <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i1.16831>.

³ Rama Kertamukti, Shaun M Anderson, and Asrul Zain Asy'ari, "Empowering Rural Women through Transformative Leadership: Insights from KWT Pawon Gendis," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, no. 1 (January 30, 2025): 647, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i1.1244>.

⁴ U Sommer and V Asal, "A Comparative Analysis of Women's Political Rights, 1981–2004: The Role of Legal Traditions," *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 41, no. 4 (2020): 416–40, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1701935>; Abdul Syatar et al., "Examining Call for the Dissolution of Indonesian Ulama Council: Siyāṣah Syar'iyah Perspective," *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 22, no. 2 (2023): 199–211, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i2.6678>.

⁵ M L Krook and J R Sanín, "Violence against Women in Politics: A Defense of the Concept," *Política y Gobierno* 23, no. 2 (2016): 459–90.

⁶ Dedisyah Putra and Nuriza Acela, "Human Rights Protection in the Islamic Family Law: A Case Study Concerning Domestic Violences," *El-Ussrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 6, no. 1 (2023): 1–16.

⁷ Amanda Bullough et al., "Women's Political Leadership Participation around the World: An Institutional Analysis," *Leadership Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (2012): 398–411, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2011.09.010>; Nur Faizah et al., "The Role of Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (KUPI) in the Search for Gender Equality-Based Islamic Law," *Al-'Adalah* 21, no. 2 (December 2024): 323, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v21i2.23698>.

influenced the legitimacy of national and international policies.⁸ Public opinion reflects women's status in political processes and contributes to shaping their status.⁹

Regardless of the global advancement of women's political rights and numerous international human rights instruments, the narrative of women's political participation from Islamic perspectives remains debated and often misinterpreted. Many Arab countries are still applying the classical Fiqh as the primary source to legally curb every life aspect, which significantly shapes people's perspectives about Islam. In the classical Fiqh, most classical scholars such as the Hanafi, Maliki, and Shafi'i stated that a country led by a woman leader would never be a prosperous country.¹⁰ On a global scale, women's involvement in politics across Sub-Saharan Africa remains twice as low as in Europe, with just 27.3% of women holding positions in political and governmental institutions.¹¹ Indonesia has the same average percentage of women's political participation, with only 21.9 percent of positions held by women. In contrast, Finland, Iceland, and Germany have become the most supportive countries for women to be involved in political and government processes, with more than 50 percent of their representation held by women.¹²

According to a recent literature review, some research focuses more on women's political rights progress by concentrating on macro-level indicators, such as the enumeration of national and international policies and commitments toward gender equality¹³ and gender representation in national legislative bodies.¹⁴ Furthermore, existing literature also only portrays Islamic perspectives

⁸ Jeffrey A. Karp and Susan A. Banducci, "When Politics Is Not Just a Man's Game: Women's Representation and Political Engagement," *Electoral Studies* 27, no. 1 (2008): 105–15, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2007.11.009>; Angraini binti Ramli and Radwan Jamal Elatrash, "Woman Participation in Politics: Toward an Ideal Model in the Perspective of Siyasa Al-Shar'iyya," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 21, no. 1 (June 2021): 1–11, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v21i1.564>; Inayatillah Inayatillah, "Acehnese Women in Public Spaces: Their Movement and Political Participation," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, no. 1 (January 30, 2023): 117, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v11i1.823>.

⁹ Monica C. Schneider and Angela L. Bos, "The Application of Social Role Theory to the Study of Gender in Politics," *Political Psychology* 40, no. S1 (2019): 173–213, <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12573>; Syamsul Wathani, Habib Ismail, and Akhmad Mughzi Abdillah, "Reconstruction of Women's Fiqh: An Analysis of Muhammad Shahrūr's Contemporary Reading in a Hermeneutic Perspective," *JIL: Journal of Islamic Law* 3, no. 2 (August 11, 2022): 159–75, <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v3i2.860>.

¹⁰ Qasim Amin, *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam*, ed. Mansoor Moaddel and Kamran Talattof, *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam: A Reader* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2000), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-09848-1>; Nur Khasanah, Achmad Irwan Hamzani, and Havis Aravik, "Hermeneutics of the Qur'an: A Study of Muhammad Syahrur's Thoughts on the Men and Women Equality," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 20, no. 1 (June 2020): 25–36, <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v20i1.5339>.

¹¹ Musa Kabir Umar and Mubarak Ahmed Mashi, "Democratization Process and the Unfolding Historical Dialectics of Women Political Participation in Sub-Saharan Africa," *International Journal of Applied Research in Social Sciences* 1, no. 4 (2020): 159–71, <https://doi.org/10.51594/ijarss.v1i4.40>; Tiffany D. Barnes and Stephanie M. Burchard, "'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 7 (2013): 767–90, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414012463884>.

¹² Juan J. Fernández and Celia Valiente, "Gender Quotas and Public Demand for Increasing Women's Representation in Politics: An Analysis of 28 European Countries," *European Political Science Review* 13, no. 3 (2021): 351–70, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773921000126>; Erfaniah Zuhriah et al., "Dimensions of The Islamic Law and Human Rights in The Protection of Children from Convicted Parents," *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syari'ah* 16, no. 2 (December 2024): 432–55, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v16i2.25150>.

¹³ Deri Rizal et al., "Reinterpreting Religious Texts on Gender Equality: The Perspective of Ahmad Syafii Maarif," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 23, no. 2 (November 20, 2024): 327, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i2.10233>; Fuady Abdullah, Nova Anggraini Putri, and Youssef Salhein, "Revisiting 'Iddah: A Critical Analysis of Gender Equality in Indonesian Feminist Islamic Legal Discourse," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 22, no. 2 (December 15, 2023): 275, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i2.10320>; Aniek Rahmaniah et al., "The Movement of Muhammadiyah Women: Religious Values, Culture, and Gender Equality," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, no. 1 (January 30, 2025): 669, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i1.1089>.

¹⁴ Cecilia Rocha Carpiuc, "Women and Diversity in Latin American Political Science," *European Political Science* 15, no. 4 (2016): 457–75, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-016-0077-4>; Defel Fakhyadi et al., "Reconstructing Gender Relations for Family Resilience in Minangkabau: Integrating Islamic Law and Customary Law," *Al-Ahkam* 35, no. 1 (April 29, 2025): 1–30, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2025.35.1.22906>.

as incompatible with gender equality without deeply analyzing Islamic texts¹⁵ and jurisprudence that support women's political rights.¹⁶ Many scholars tend to draw connections between feminist movements and secular legal reforms. Still, no researcher has further explored the protection of women's rights from Islamic principles and the international human rights framework.¹⁷

According to existing literature, a significant gap must be addressed, particularly in introducing a new perspective that integrates Islamic values with women's political rights. Critically examining how Islamic teachings align with international human rights, this research seeks to offer a more balanced and context-sensitive understanding. The urgency of this study is to counter rigid interpretations arguing that Islamic perspectives limit women's political roles. Thus, the research aims to correct the misinterpretation of the connection between Islamic perspectives and women's political rights and demonstrate how these perspectives strongly align with international human rights.

This research used a normative juridical approach methodology by using content analysis with computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software to analyze data. Content analysis is primarily helpful for research that uses media or document databases as its primary data source.¹⁸ This research used articles from reputable journals as the primary data source to address the research questions. We collected journal articles using specific keywords, such as Islamic perspectives and Women's political rights, which were selected as the main topic, limiting the publication range to works from 2015 to 2025. After conducting several reduction steps, we obtained thirty journal articles focused on this theme.

NVivo 12 Plus software was used because it can handle the manual data and provide automated analysis based on the statistical properties of text. Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software helps manage, organize, and analyze unstructured data, enhancing the possibility of combining various data types. Furthermore, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software can analyze unstructured social media, articles, and online news.¹⁹ The word cloud analysis depicts how the Islamic perspective protects women's political rights. Using the word cloud analysis, researchers can use the tag cloud to visualize major text data information.

Islamic Perspectives on Women's Political Rights

The Islamic perspective on women's political rights is a subject filled with theological, historical, and socio-cultural dynamics.²⁰ In contemporary Muslim societies, this issue remains a topic of debate

¹⁵ Tarmizi M. Jakfar et al., "Efforts to Moderate Islamic Law Understanding through Hadith Studies in Aceh and West Sumatra Mosques," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20, no. 1 (May 12, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i1.14609>.

¹⁶ Ladan Rahbari, "When Gender Turns Right: Racializing Islam and Femonationalism in Online Political Discourses in Belgium," *Contemporary Politics* 27, no. 1 (2020): 41–57, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2020.1813950>.

¹⁷ Sonya G. Smith and Jeanne C. Sinkford, "Gender Equality in the 21st Century: Overcoming Barriers to Women's Leadership in Global Health," *Journal of Dental Education* 86, no. 9 (2022): 1144–73, <https://doi.org/10.1002/jdd.13059>. barriers encountered to achieving gender equality in global health leadership, and to propose key recommendations for advancing gender equality in global health decision-making through the integration of gender mainstreaming, gender-based analysis, and gender transformative leadership (GTL)

¹⁸ May Kristin Vespestad and Anne Clancy, "Exploring the Use of Content Analysis Methodology in Consumer Research," *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 59, no. December 2020 (2021): 102427, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2020.102427>.

¹⁹ Megan Woods et al., "Advancing Qualitative Research Using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS)? Reviewing Potential Versus Practice in Published Studies Using ATLAS.Ti and NVivo, 1994–2013," *Social Science Computer Review* 34, no. 5 (2016): 597–617, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439315596311>.

²⁰ Otong Sulaeman et al., "Negotiating Gender Justice in Minangkabau Marital Disputes: Between Adat, Islamic, and State Law," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 24, no. 1 (March 11, 2025): 39, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v24i1.11848>. where customary (adat

between conservative scholars who uphold traditional interpretations and progressive thinkers who advocate for a re-reading of scriptural texts. Islam, as a religion grounded in the principles of justice (*al-'adālah*), public interest (*al-maṣlahah*), and spiritual equality between men and women,²¹ establishes human beings as stewards (*khalīfah*)²² on earth without gender-based distinction.²³ Therefore, the discourse on women's political participation²⁴ cannot be reduced to mere legal formalities but must be analyzed holistically through the lenses of *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, prophetic history, and the socio-historical context of the Muslim community.

Islam views politics as an essential aspect of social life aimed at establishing justice²⁵ and societal welfare.²⁶ In this regard, everyone, regardless of gender, bears moral and social responsibility in public affairs, including governance and political leadership. This perspective aligns with the *shūrā* (consultation) principle emphasized in the Qur'an (Qur'an 42:38), which implies collective engagement in decision-making. Nowhere in the Qur'an is there an explicit prohibition against women participating in political life. On the contrary, the Qur'an acknowledges women's competence in handling significant social roles, as exemplified in the story of the Queen of Sheba (*Balqis*), who governed her people with wisdom and earned recognition from Prophet Solomon.²⁷

Women's political engagement was also evident during the Prophet Muhammad's era. Women were involved in significant historical moments, including pledging allegiance (*bai'at*) to the Prophet, an act with political implications that symbolized social contracts and commitment. Women also actively participated in mediation, education, and even battles, such as Nusaybah bint Ka'b. While there exists a widely cited hadith stating that "a people who entrust their affairs to a woman will never prosper" (Sahih al-Bukhari), many scholars argue that this narration is context-specific, referring to the Persian Empire's decline under female rule, and should not be interpreted as a universal principle. Contemporary Muslim scholars consider such hadiths within their historical and situational contexts rather than applying them as absolute doctrinal restrictions.²⁸

The evolution of Islamic jurisprudence has often mirrored the patriarchal structures prevalent during its formative centuries. Classical scholars such as al-Māwardī and Ibn Khaldūn stipulated

²¹ Muhammad Rizka Muqtada et al., "Fiqh Contestation on Women's Public Leadership in Indonesia and Malaysia: Reproducing Qur'anic and Hadith Interpretations," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 19, no. 1 (June 30, 2024): 221–48, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v19i1.13163>. It was found that: 1

²² Ahmad Faidi, "Sistem Kekhalifahan Dan Konstruksi Budaya Politik Arab," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 1 (July 31, 2018): 187–225, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v13i1.1478>.

²³ Hasse Jubba et al., "Changes in the Political Behavior of Towani Tolotang as a Minority Religious Group: Fiqh Al-'Aqaliyyāt Perspective," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 18, no. 2 (December 29, 2023): 392–419, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v18i2.10184>; Arief Budiman, Muhammad Saifullah, and Bahrul Ulum, "Wājibah Will for Non-Muslim Heirs in Indonesia: A Legal Political Perspective Based on Justice and Welfare," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 2 (December 28, 2024): 223–50, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i2.223-250>.

²⁴ Emin Najafli et al., "Ensuring Human Rights in Ukraine during Introduction of Martial Law: Constitutional and Administrative Aspect," *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 24, no. 1 (April 18, 2024): 52–72, <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v24i1.12527>.

²⁵ Asliah Zainal et al., "Navigating Politics: How Non-Elite Women in Eastern Indonesia Counteract Dynastic Power," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun; Vol 13 No 2 (2025): Jurnal Ilmiah PeuradeunDO - 10.26811/Peuradeun.V13i2.2088*, May 30, 2025.

²⁶ Silfia Hanani et al., "Islamic Legal Approach in Preventing Women's Involvement in Spreading Hoaxes on Social Media," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 23, no. 2 (October 7, 2024): 281, <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i2.13082>; Agus Suharsono, Nanik Prasetyoningsih, and Sunyoto Usman, "Women's Inheritance Rights in Indonesia from the Perspective of the Triangular Concept of Legal Pluralism," *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 2 (2024): 259–80.

²⁷ Qur'an 27:23–44.

²⁸ Sulastrri Caniago et al., "Gender Integration in Islamic Politics: Fiqh Siyash on Women's Political Rights since Classical to Contemporary Interpretations," *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 3, no. 2 (December 30, 2024): 411–31, <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v3i2.9962>.

male leadership as a requirement for head of state (*imāmah*). This position later became a normative standard in Islamic political theory.²⁹ However, Islamic law is fundamentally interpretative (*ijtihādī*) and responsive to contextual realities. Modern Islamic thinkers, including Amina Wadud, and Fazlur Rahman, argue for a re-engagement with the sources of Islamic law to ensure inclusivity and relevance in today's context.³⁰ They emphasize the need to re-evaluate legal opinions that restrict women's political rights by applying contemporary methods of interpretation rooted in Islamic ethical and legal foundations.

The *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah* approach provides a robust epistemological framework to support women's political participation. This paradigm protects essential human interests: religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property. Denying women access to political engagement based solely on gender undermines the principle of justice and can lead to societal harm (*mafsadah*). When women possess the necessary competence, moral integrity, and leadership abilities, preventing them from political roles contradicts the objectives of Islamic law.³¹ Therefore, enabling women's involvement in politics should be considered a moral and religious duty to promote the public good and social equity.

Empirically, many Muslim-majority countries have already paved the way for women's political inclusion. Indonesia, for instance, had a democratically elected female president, while countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Turkey have also experienced female political leadership. These cases demonstrate that no intrinsic Islamic principle prohibits women from holding public office. Instead, women's political participation in modern democratic systems reflects the Islamic values of consultation, accountability, and justice.³² Ensuring women's political rights is vital to achieving good governance and collective prosperity in Muslim societies.³³

Gender discourse in Islam is not immune to challenges, particularly due to the historical dominance of male-centered interpretations. To overcome this, scholars advocate for a hermeneutic approach that includes women's lived experiences as a legitimate lens in interpreting religious texts. Such a methodology allows for a more just, contextual, and inclusive reading of Islam that accommodates women's participation in all spheres of life. Consequently, women's political rights should not be seen as a threat to tradition but as a natural progression toward an equitable Islamic society.

Islamic tradition acknowledges women's spiritual and moral capacities and intellectual and social potential. History records numerous examples of female scholars, jurists, and political advisors throughout Islamic civilization.³⁴ Their contributions challenge the narrative that women's public

²⁹ Fuad Hasim and Saadatul Maghfira, "Dialektika Pengangkatan Menteri Perspektif Al Mawardi Dan Ibn Khaldun," *Journal of Law, Society, and Islamic Civilization* 12, no. 1 (n.d.): 1–11.

³⁰ Ilzam Hubby Dzikrillah Alfani et al., "Qur'anic Perspective of Gender Equality: Classical and Modern Tafsir," *Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies* 11, no. 1 (2025): 33–52.

³¹ Ahmad, "Islamic Rule and the Empowerment of the Poor and Pious," *Econometrica* 82, no. 1 (2014): 229–69, <https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA9878>.

³² Henky Fernando et al., "The Controversy of Indonesian Democracy Practices in The Post-Reform," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 24, no. 2 (December 30, 2024): 159–77, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i2.1594>.

³³ Zufikar Ismail and Maisyarah Rahmi Hasan, "Islamic Legal Modernism and Women's Emancipation in Tunisia," *Mazahib*, February 2021, 281–314, <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v19i2.2800>; Ikhwan Matondang, "Resolving Human Rights Violation Cases in Aceh, Indonesia," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 24, no. 1 (June 29, 2024): 61–70, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i1.1539>.

³⁴ Mahmudat O. Muhibbu-Din, "Feminism and Modern Islamic Politics: The Fact and the Fallacy," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 15 (2019): 44–59, <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.15.2019.005>.

roles are foreign to Islam. In truth, the exclusion of women from public affairs is more often rooted in local customs and patriarchal systems than in Islamic teachings. Thus, reconstructing Islamic law in favor of gender equity is not an innovation but a return to the inclusive ethos of the Prophetic model.

From the ethical-political perspective of Islam, the ideal leader is defined by trustworthiness (*amānah*), justice, competence, and service to the community, not by biological sex. Emphasizing character and capability over gender aligns with the Islamic emphasis on merit and responsibility. Therefore, excluding women from political leadership solely on gender grounds is a form of structural injustice and contradicts the overarching Islamic principles of equity and moral responsibility. Recognizing and facilitating women's roles in public life affirms their God-given dignity and fulfillment of Islamic ideals.³⁵

Islam does not fundamentally oppose women's political rights. Today's restrictions persist largely from socio-historical constructs and interpretations rather than clear-cut religious injunctions.³⁶ The future of Islamic law and governance lies in embracing justice, public interest, and gender inclusivity through *ijtihād* and *maqāṣid*-based reasoning. Muslim women should no longer be confined to the margins of political life. Still, they should be empowered as active agents of change and leadership in building an Islamic civilization that is just, inclusive, and forward-looking.

While the consensus on women's political rights is framed mainly through liberal principles, the situation is more complex in many Islamic-majority countries.³⁷ This issue has gained increasing attention and has sparked a prolonged debate about whether Islamic teachings support the notion of women's political rights.

Figure 1. The World Cloud of Woman's Political Rights in Islam Perspective



Source: Analysed by Author

Figure 1 illustrates that Islamic viewpoints generally endorse women's right to participate in elections and to stand for positions in all representative bodies. This interpretation is explained by some words such as elected, right, public, and woman, which are more dominant than other words in the word cloud with percentages of more than 40%. Furthermore, the phrase "political and public functions" that significantly emerges in the word cloud with a percentage of 35% explains that Islamic values do not restrict women's participation in becoming a leader in both political and public institutions.³⁸

³⁵ M. Steven Fish, "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics* 55, no. 1 (October 2002): 4-37, <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2003.0004>.

³⁶ Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook, "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors," *Government and Opposition* 44, no. 2 (January 2009): 125-45, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2009.01279.x>.

³⁷ Mary Caprioli, "Gendered Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 37, no. 1 (January 2000): 51-68, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343300037001003>.

³⁸ Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Muslim Women's Quest for Equality: Between Islamic Law and Feminism," *Critical Inquiry* 32, no. 4 (June 2006): 629-45, <https://doi.org/10.1086/508085>.

The Right to Vote, be Elected and Hold Strategic Positions in Public Officers

The fundamental reformations of the political system in Middle Eastern countries cannot be divorced from the Western world's global influence, particularly the influence of the Women's Liberation Movement.³⁹ The reforms conducted by the Kuwait government granted that women were permitted to vote and to be elected in political contests.⁴⁰ This is the major revolution in Middle Eastern nations in response to demands for democracy, an end to oppression, and the denial of women's political rights. Furthermore, in Islamic tradition, there is no inherent restriction on women's participation in politics or holding positions of power. Instead, Islamic teachings emphasize the importance of competence and integrity over gender.⁴¹

Islam does not prohibit women from exercising their right to vote. In Islam, women are not banned from appointing someone to represent them in fighting for their rights and channeling their aspirations as members of society. Almost in line with this is the opinion stating that there are two rights of the people in this country: political and public rights. Concerning political rights, he said that every individual has the right to vote, including electing a head of state.⁴²

Historically, the right to be elected underwent significant changes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, driven by the global women's suffrage movement.⁴³ Islamic teachings fundamentally support the idea of gender equality, including the appointment of women to various political institutions. According to the al-Azhar fatwa, the final part states that women can freely associate, attend meetings, and accept invitations.⁴⁴ This view is also held by classical jurists such as Al-Mawardi and Abu Ya'la, who outlined several conditions for membership in the institution known as *ahl al-halli wa al-'aqdi* or *ahl al-ikhtiyar*. These conditions include fairness, full qualifications, the ability to select a head-of-state candidate, and the expertise to choose.⁴⁵ Prominent female figures in Islam, such as Aisha and Khadijah, have demonstrated that women can play active and influential roles within Islamic communities. These examples suggest that Islamic values have expanded women's opportunities to participate in political contests and be elected. Another example of the significant role of a female leader is Megawati Soekarno Putri, who served as the fifth president of Indonesia and continues to play an influential role as the chairperson of the Indonesian Political Party, PDIP.⁴⁶

In contrast to previous rights, this right remains rare in Islamic countries. Most Islamic nations still do not permit women to hold leadership roles in the public sphere, particularly as heads of state. Some scholars explain the limitation of Islamic values by citing Allah's words in Surah An-

³⁹ Carpiuc, "Women and Diversity in Latin American Political Science."

⁴⁰ Mohamed Sulthan Ismiya Begum et al., "Gender Equity in Muslim Family Law: Modern and Contemporary 'Ulamā's View," *Al-Ahkam* 34, no. 2 (2024): 221–56, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2024.34.2.20773>.

⁴¹ Claudia Eger, "Equality and Gender at Work in Islam: The Case of the Berber Population of the High Atlas Mountains," *Business Ethics Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2021): 210–41, <https://doi.org/10.1017/beq.2020.21>. which serves to (re

⁴² Izza Annafisatud Daniah, *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements*, *Islamic Studies Review*, vol. 1, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.56529/isr.v1i2.87>.

⁴³ Henry Miller, "The British Women's Suffrage Movement and the Practice of Petitioning, 1890–1914," *The Historical Journal* 64, no. 2 (March 2021): 332–56, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X20000035>.

⁴⁴ Ayman Shabana, "Islamic Normative Principles Underlying Fatwas on Assisted Reproductive Technologies: Al-Azhar Fatwa on Artificial Insemination1," *Muslim World* 111, no. 3 (2021): 511–33, <https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12406>.

⁴⁵ Muhammad Al-Marakeby, "Rethinking Modern Fatwa Typology: An Ethnographic Study on Al-Azhar Fatwa Council," *Islamic Studies Review* 1, no. 2 (2022): 197–216, <https://doi.org/10.56529/isr.v1i2.85>.

⁴⁶ Husain Muhammad and Ramlani Lina Sinaulan, "Analysis Women's Political Participation In Public Administration Review From Gender Mainstream," *European Journal of Research Development and Sustainability* 3, no. 5 (2022): 18–22.

Nisa' (34) as evidence that women are not permitted to hold public office, arguing that leadership is the domain of men and, therefore, political rights should also be in their hands.⁴⁷ Additionally, they argue that the advantages men hold over women stem from their perceived intellectual and physical superiority. For example, al-Razi stated that men have two main benefits: knowledge and physical strength. He believed that men surpass women in intellect and reasoning and that their capacity for hard work is more complete. The interpretation of the word “*qawwamun*” as “leader” also influences the Indonesian understanding of this concept.⁴⁸

However, upon closer examination of the *asbab al-nuzul*, it becomes clear that the interpretation of that verse pertains only to household matters. Hosein Khosdhel Mofrad et al. offered a balanced view, arguing that the verse addresses men as husbands and women as wives.⁴⁹ The second argument scholars use as evidence of the prohibition of women from being leaders is hadith. However, a different argument supporting women's political rights within Islamic values is presented through Al-Gazali's interpretation of hadiths. Ris'am Rusli et al. stated that the head of state should be chosen from people who have the ability among the people.⁵⁰ According to this interpretation, the primary consideration for becoming a state leader is leadership and intellectual skills, which may belong to either men or women, regardless of gender.⁵¹

Amin Abdullah also states that the context of women's lives in the contemporary era is notably different from that of their lives in the classical-scholastic-prescientific era.⁵² The main factor of this change is the development of technologies that can replace activities that require strength.⁵³ Additionally, several historical records show that many women have actively engaged in various fields of society. Even Surah An-Nisa's verse 124 describes that ‘good deeds’ include all actions benefiting the people, such as the participation and contributions of women who have access to public life.⁵⁴

Conclusion

Misinterpretations of Islamic values related to women's political rights continue to thrive massively due to several Islamic countries that still apply classical Islamic values. However, these findings counter the general perceptions of Islamic values by presenting different perspectives of Islamic values advocating for women's political rights. Before the establishment of the UN

⁴⁷ Nurjannah Ismail, Muhammad Firdaus, and Edi Darmawijaya, “Gender Equality in the Qur'an: An Analysis of Surah an-Nisa' Verses 1 and 34 in the Exegesis of Al-Tabari and Al-Rāzī,” *Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies* 10, no. 2 (September 2024): 224, <https://doi.org/10.22373/equality.v10i2.25932>.

⁴⁸ Novia Firdayanti, Triono Ali Mustofa, and Nur Saadah Hamisan Khair, “Gender Equality in the Perspective of the Qur'an,” *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 1 (2024): 142–48, https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-102-9_13.

⁴⁹ Hosein Khosdhel Mofrad, Lida Maddi, and Mohammad Nasehi, “A Comparative Analysis of the Social Interpretational Approach of Sayyid Qutb in Fi Zilal Al-Quran and Muhammad Jawad Mughniyah in Al-Kashaf with a Focus on Family,” *Islamic Studies and Quranic Research in the Contemporary World* 2, no. 1 (2023): 133–48, <https://doi.org/10.22034/iscw.2023.713414>.

⁵⁰ Ris'An Rusli et al., “Rechtsstaat from the Perspective of Al-Ghazali and Ibn Khaldun,” *International Journal of Law and Society* 4, no. 1 (2025): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.59683/ijls.v4i1.106>.

⁵¹ Muhammad and Sinaulan, “Analysis Women's Political Participation In Public Administration Review From Gender Mainstream.”

⁵² Muhammad Amin Abdullah, “Islamic Studies in Higher Education in Indonesia: Challenges, Impact and Prospects for the World Community,” *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 2 (December 2017): 391–426, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.552.391-426>; Linda Rae Bennett, “Women, Islam and Modernity,” *Women, Islam and Modernity*, no. July (2005), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203391389>; Amin, *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam*.

⁵³ Abdullah, “Islamic Studies in Higher Education in Indonesia: Challenges, Impact and Prospects for the World Community.”

⁵⁴ Amin, *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam*.

Convention on Women's Political Rights, Islam had been protecting women's political rights by ensuring women's rights to vote, be elected, and serve in public office. A notable example is that many countries, such as Indonesia and Tunisia, have implemented strict rules, like gender quotas, to ensure women's participation in their political systems. This research significantly contributes to the debate about women's political rights within Islamic perspectives by explaining that Islam has been protecting and ensuring women's political participation over the years. The research findings are a pivotal counter-narrative to rigid understandings that often place Islamic perspectives on the opposing side. Furthermore, this research ultimately underscores the importance of reconstruction of religious doctrines in light, aiming to foster gender equality and justice in Muslim-majority countries. Further research is needed to compare women's role in political systems, particularly in exploring the practical implementation of women's political rights in several Islamic and non-Islamic nations.

References

- Abdullah, Fuady, Nova Anggraini Putri, and Youssof Salhein. "Revisiting 'Iddah: A Critical Analysis of Gender Equality in Indonesian Feminist Islamic Legal Discourse." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 22, no. 2 (December 15, 2023): 275. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i2.10320>.
- Abdullah, Muhammad Amin. "Islamic Studies in Higher Education in Indonesia: Challenges, Impact and Prospects for the World Community." *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 2 (December 2017): 391–426. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.552.391-426>.
- Abdulmelik, N, and T Belay. "Advancing Women's Political Rights in Africa: The Promise and Potential of ACDEG." *Africa Spectrum* 54, no. 2 (2019): 147–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002039719881321>.
- Ahmad. "Islamic Rule and the Empowerment of the Poor and Pious." *Econometrica* 82, no. 1 (2014): 229–69. <https://doi.org/10.3982/ECTA9878>.
- Al-Marakeby, Muhammad. "Rethinking Modern Fatwa Typology: An Ethnographic Study on Al-Azhar Fatwa Council." *Islamic Studies Review* 1, no. 2 (2022): 197–216. <https://doi.org/10.56529/isr.v1i2.85>.
- Alfani, Ilzam Hubby Dzikrillah, Mukhsin Mukhsin, Muhammad Hafidz Khusnadin, Siti Chodijah, and Asya Dwina Luthfia. "Qur'anic Perspective of Gender Equality: Classical and Modern Tafsir." *Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies* 11, no. 1 (2025): 33–52.
- Amin, Qasim. *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam*. Edited by Mansoor Moaddel and Kamran Talattof. *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam: A Reader*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2000. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-09848-1>.
- Arief Budiman, Muhammad Saifullah, and Bahrul Ulum. "Wājibah Will for Non-Muslim Heirs in Indonesia: A Legal Political Perspective Based on Justice and Welfare." *Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 2 (December 28, 2024): 223–50. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i2.223-250>.
- Barnes, Tiffany D., and Stephanie M. Burchard. "'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 7 (2013): 767–90. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414012463884>.

- Begum, Mohamed Sulthan Ismiya, Indriaty Ismail, Zul'Azmi Yaakob, Ahamed Sarjoon Razick, and Mohamed Mahroof Ali Abdullah. "Gender Equity in Muslim Family Law: Modern and Contemporary 'Ulamā's View." *Al-Ahkam* 34, no. 2 (2024): 221–56. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2024.34.2.20773>.
- Bennett, Linda Rae. "Women, Islam and Modernity." *Women, Islam and Modernity*, no. July (2005). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203391389>.
- Bullough, Amanda, K. Galen Kroeck, William Newburry, Sumit K. Kundu, and Kevin B. Lowe. "Women's Political Leadership Participation around the World: An Institutional Analysis." *Leadership Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (2012): 398–411. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2011.09.010>.
- Caprioli, Mary. "Gendered Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, no. 1 (January 2000): 51–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343300037001003>.
- Carpuc, Cecilia Rocha. "Women and Diversity in Latin American Political Science." *European Political Science* 15, no. 4 (2016): 457–75. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-016-0077-4>.
- Childs, Sarah, and Mona Lena Krook. "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors." *Government and Opposition* 44, no. 2 (January 2009): 125–45. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2009.01279.x>.
- Daniah, Izza Annafisatud. *Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements. Islamic Studies Review*. Vol. 1, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.56529/isr.v1i2.87>.
- Eger, Claudia. "Equality and Gender at Work in Islam: The Case of the Berber Population of the High Atlas Mountains." *Business Ethics Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2021): 210–41. <https://doi.org/10.1017/beq.2020.21>.
- Faidi, Ahmad. "Sistem Kekhalifahan Dan Konstruksi Budaya Politik Arab." *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 13, no. 1 (July 31, 2018): 187–225. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v13i1.1478>.
- Faizah, Nur, Ahmad Rezy Meidina, Achmad Lubabul Chadziq, Moch. Iqbal, and M. Shaiful Umam. "The Role of Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (KUPI) in the Search for Gender Equality-Based Islamic Law." *Al-'Adalah* 21, no. 2 (December 2024): 323. <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v21i2.23698>.
- Fakhyadi, Defel, Muhammad Adib Samsudin, Vito Dasrianto, Muhammad Danil, and Ade Arga Wahyudi. "Reconstructing Gender Relations for Family Resilience in Minangkabau: Integrating Islamic Law and Customary Law." *Al-Ahkam* 35, no. 1 (April 29, 2025): 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2025.35.1.22906>.
- Fernández, Juan J., and Celia Valiente. "Gender Quotas and Public Demand for Increasing Women's Representation in Politics: An Analysis of 28 European Countries." *European Political Science Review* 13, no. 3 (2021): 351–70. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773921000126>.
- Fernando, Henry, Yuniar Galuh Larasati, Irwan Abdullah, Ismail Ismail, Ahmad Yunani, M Nastain, and Leanne Morin. "The Controversy of Indonesian Democracy Practices in The Post-Reform." *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 24, no. 2 (December 30, 2024): 159–77. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i2.1594>.
- Firdayanti, Novia, Triono Ali Mustofa, and Nur Saadah Hamisan Khair. "Gender Equality in the Perspective of the Qur'an." *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research* 1 (2024): 142–48. https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-102-9_13.

- Fish, M. Steven. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55, no. 1 (October 2002): 4–37. <https://doi.org/10.1353/wp.2003.0004>.
- Habi, Nuraida Fitri, and Muhammad Atho Mudzhar. "Women, Islamic Law and Custom in Pucuk Induk Undang Nan Limo Manuscript of Jambi." *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 24, no. 2 (2024): 233–50. <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v24i1.38557>.
- Hanani, Silfia, Nelmaya Nelmaya, Zakiyah Ulya, Elsa Aldian, Ahmad Yunus Bin Mohd Noor, and Sitto Rahmana. "Islamic Legal Approach in Preventing Women's Involvement in Spreading Hoaxes on Social Media." *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 23, no. 2 (October 7, 2024): 281. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i2.13082>.
- Hasim, Fuad, and Saadatul Maghfira. "Dialektika Pengangkatan Menteri Perspektif Al Mawardi Dan Ibn Khaldun." *Journal of Law, Society, and Islamic Civilization* 12, no. 1 (n.d.): 1–11.
- Inayatillah, Inayatillah. "Acehnese Women in Public Spaces: Their movement and Political Participation." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 11, no. 1 (January 30, 2023): 117. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v11i1.823>.
- Ismail, Nurjannah, Muhammad Firdaus, and Edi Darmawijaya. "Gender Equality in the Qur'an: An Analysis of Surah an-Nisa' Verses 1 and 34 in the Exegesis of Al-Tabari and Al-Rāzī." *Gender Equality: International Journal of Child and Gender Studies* 10, no. 2 (September 2024): 224. <https://doi.org/10.22373/equality.v10i2.25932>.
- Ismail, Zulfikar, and Maisyarah Rahmi Hasan. "Islamic Legal Modernism and Women's Emancipation in Tunisia." *Mazahib*, February 2021, 281–314. <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v19i2.2800>.
- Joshi, M, and L Olsson. "War Termination and Women's Political Rights." *Social Science Research* 94 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2020.102523>.
- Jubba, Hasse, Ahmad Sunawari Long, Zuly Qodir, Umar Werfete, and Muhamad Nastain. "Changes in the Political Behavior of Towani Tolotang as a Minority Religious Group: Fiqh Al-'Aqaliyyāt Perspective." *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 18, no. 2 (December 29, 2023): 392–419. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v18i2.10184>.
- Karp, Jeffrey A., and Susan A. Banducci. "When Politics Is Not Just a Man's Game: Women's Representation and Political Engagement." *Electoral Studies* 27, no. 1 (2008): 105–15. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2007.11.009>.
- Kertamukti, Rama, Shaun M Anderson, and Asrul Zain Asy'ari. "Empowering Rural Women through Transformative Leadership: Insights from KWT Pawon Gendis." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, no. 1 (January 30, 2025): 647. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i1.1244>.
- Khasanah, Nur, Achmad Irwan Hamzani, and Havis Aravik. "Hermeneutics of the Qur'an: A Study of Muhammad Syahrur's Thoughts on the Men and Women Equality." *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat* 20, no. 1 (June 2020): 25–36. <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v20i1.5339>.
- Krook, M L, and J R Sanín. "Violence against Women in Politics: A Defense of the Concept." *Política y Gobierno* 23, no. 2 (2016): 459–90.
- M.Jakfar, Tarmizi, Maizuddin, Misri A. Muchsin, Sri Chalida, and Nadhilah Filzah. "Efforts to Moderate Islamic Law Understanding through Hadith Studies in Aceh and West Sumatra Mosques." *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20, no. 1 (May 12, 2025). <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i1.14609>.

- Matondang, Ikhwan. "Resolving Human Rights Violation Cases in Aceh, Indonesia." *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 24, no. 1 (June 29, 2024): 61–70. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i1.1539>.
- Miller, Henry. "The British Women's Suffrage Movement and the Practice of Petitioning, 1890–1914." *The Historical Journal* 64, no. 2 (March 2021): 332–56. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X20000035>.
- Mirzā Hosseini, Ziba. "Muslim Women's Quest for Equality: Between Islamic Law and Feminism." *Critical Inquiry* 32, no. 4 (June 2006): 629–45. <https://doi.org/10.1086/508085>.
- Mofrad, Hosein Khoshdel, Lida Maddi, and Mohammad Nasehi. "A Comparative Analysis of the Social Interpretational Approach of Sayyid Qutb in Fi Zilal Al-Quran and Muhammad Jawad Mughniyah in Al-Kashaf with a Focus on Family." *Islamic Studies and Quranic Research in the Contemporary World* 2, no. 1 (2023): 133–48. <https://doi.org/10.22034/iscw.2023.713414>.
- Muhammad, Husain, and Ramlani Lina Sinaulan. "Analysis Women's Political Participation In Public Administration Review From Gender Mainstream." *European Journal of Research Development and Sustainability* 3, no. 5 (2022): 18–22.
- Muhibbu-Din, Mahmudat O. "Feminism and Modern Islamic Politics: The Fact and the Fallacy." *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 15 (2019): 44–59. <https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.15.2019.005>.
- Muqtada, Muhammad Rikza, Istianah, Ahmad Sharifuddin bin Mustapha, and Abdul Mufid. "Fiqh Contestation on Women's Public Leadership in Indonesia and Malaysia: Reproducing Qur'anic and Hadith Interpretations." *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 19, no. 1 (June 30, 2024): 221–48. <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v19i1.13163>.
- Najafli, Emin, Eduard Kisiliuk, Oleksandr Dubenko, Serhii Burlakov, and Volodymyr Yarmaki. "Ensuring Human Rights in Ukraine during Introduction of Martial Law: Constitutional and Administrative Aspect." *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 24, no. 1 (April 18, 2024): 52–72. <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v24i1.12527>.
- Putra, Dedisyah, and Nuriza Acela. "Human Rights Protection in the Islamic Family Law: A Case Study Concerning Domestic Violences." *El-USRAH: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 6, no. 1 (2023): 1–16.
- Rahbari, Ladan. "When Gender Turns Right: Racializing Islam and Femonationalism in Online Political Discourses in Belgium." *Contemporary Politics* 27, no. 1 (2020): 41–57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569775.2020.1813950>.
- Rahmaniah, Aniek, Emy Susanti, Dwi Windyastuti Budi Hendrarti, and Ulfi Andrian Sari. "The Movement of Muhammadiyah Women: Religious Values, Culture, and Gender Equality." *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 13, no. 1 (January 30, 2025): 669. <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v13i1.1089>.
- Ramli, Angraini binti, and Radwan Jamal Elatrash. "Woman Participation in Politics: Toward an Ideal Model in the Perspective of Siyasa Al-Shar'iyya." *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 21, no. 1 (June 2021): 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v21i1.564>.
- Rizal, Deri, Irman Irman, Dewi Putri, Miftahurrahmah Miftahurrahmah, Yustiloviani Yustiloviani, and Kamaluddin Kamaluddin. "Reinterpreting Religious Texts on Gender Equality: The

- Perspective of Ahmad Syafii Maarif.” *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 23, no. 2 (November 20, 2024): 327. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v23i2.10233>.
- Rusli, Ris’An, Wijaya, Alfi Julizun Azwar, and Devi Aulia Utami. “Rechtsstaat from the Perspective of Al-Ghazali and Ibn Khaldun.” *International Journal of Law and Society* 4, no. 1 (2025): 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.59683/ijls.v4i1.106>.
- Schneider, Monica C., and Angela L. Bos. “The Application of Social Role Theory to the Study of Gender in Politics.” *Political Psychology* 40, no. S1 (2019): 173–213. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12573>.
- Shabana, Ayman. “Islamic Normative Principles Underlying Fatwas on Assisted Reproductive Technologies: Al-Azhar Fatwa on Artificial Insemination1.” *Muslim World* 111, no. 3 (2021): 511–33. <https://doi.org/10.1111/muwo.12406>.
- Smith, Sonya G., and Jeanne C. Sinkford. “Gender Equality in the 21st Century: Overcoming Barriers to Women’s Leadership in Global Health.” *Journal of Dental Education* 86, no. 9 (2022): 1144–73. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jdd.13059>.
- Sommer, U, and V Asal. “A Comparative Analysis of Women’s Political Rights, 1981–2004: The Role of Legal Traditions.” *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 41, no. 4 (2020): 416–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1554477X.2019.1701935>.
- Suharsono, Agus, Nanik Prasetyoningsih, and Sunyoto Usman. “Women’s Inheritance Rights in Indonesia from the Perspective of the Triangular Concept of Legal Pluralism.” *El-Mashlahah* 14, no. 2 (2024): 259–80.
- Sulaeman, Otong, Dodon Alfiander, Oktari Kanus, Sri Nur Rahmi, and Bekti Utomo. “Negotiating Gender Justice in Minangkabau Marital Disputes: Between Adat, Islamic, and State Law.” *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 24, no. 1 (March 11, 2025): 39. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v24i1.11848>.
- Sulastri Caniago, Firdaus, Zainal Azwar, Dian Pertiwi, and Dasrizal Marah Nainin. “Gender Integration in Islamic Politics: Fiqh Siyasah on Women’s Political Rights since Classical to Contemporary Interpretations.” *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 3, no. 2 (December 30, 2024): 411–31. <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v3i2.9962>.
- Syatar, Abdul, Muhammad Imran, M. Ilham, Kurniati, Marilang, and Kamaluddin Nurdin Marjuni. “Examining Call for the Dissolution of Indonesian Ulema Council: Siyāsah Syar’iyyah Perspective.” *Juris: Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 22, no. 2 (2023): 199–211. <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v22i2.6678>.
- Umar, Musa Kabir, and Mubarak Ahmed Mashi. “Democratization Process and the Unfolding Historical Dialectics of Women Political Participation in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *International Journal of Applied Research in Social Sciences* 1, no. 4 (2020): 159–71. <https://doi.org/10.51594/ijarss.v1i4.40>.
- Vespestad, May Kristin, and Anne Clancy. “Exploring the Use of Content Analysis Methodology in Consumer Research.” *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* 59, no. December 2020 (2021): 102427. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2020.102427>.
- Wathani, Syamsul, Habib Ismail, and Akhmad Mughzi Abdillah. “Reconstruction of Women’s Fiqh: An Analysis of Muhammad Shahrūr’s Contemporary Reading in a Hermeneutic Perspective.” *JIL: Journal of Islamic Law* 3, no. 2 (August 11, 2022): 159–75. <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v3i2.860>.

- Widiastuti, Tika, Imron Mawardi, Siti Zulaikha, Hüseyin Ergun, and Zainal Abidin. “Strategic Solutions for Women’s Empowerment through Islamic Social Finance in Light of Maqāṣid Sharia: A Delphi-ANP Approach.” *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20, no. 1 (May 2025). <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i1.16831>.
- Woods, Megan, Trena Paulus, David P. Atkins, and Rob Macklin. “Advancing Qualitative Research Using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS)? Reviewing Potential Versus Practice in Published Studies Using ATLAS.Ti and NVivo, 1994–2013.” *Social Science Computer Review* 34, no. 5 (2016): 597–617. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439315596311>.
- Zainal, Asliah, Muh. Asrianto Zainal, Ahmad Sultra Rustan, Anita Rezki, Ananta Prayoga Hutama Syam, and Dwi Setianingsih. “Navigating Politics: How Non-Elite Women in Eastern Indonesia Counteract Dynastic Power.” *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun; Vol 13 No 2 (2025): Jurnal Ilmiah PeuradeunDO - 10.26811/Peuradeun.V13i2.2088*, May 30, 2025.
- Zuhriah, Erfaniah, Suud Fuadi, Imam Sukadi, and Zahrah Salsabillah Ashari. “Dimensions of The Islamic Law and Human Rights in The Protection of Children from Convicted Parents.” *De Jure: Jurnal Hukum Dan Syar’iah* 16, no. 2 (December 2024): 432–55. <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v16i2.25150>.

